

MUSEUM BEGINNINGS IN THE NATIONAL PARKS

Park museums did not grow from a single root, nor did any central authority decree their initial establishment. The first ones developed independently, created by local initiative to meet perceived needs. They could have received little stimulus through the rudimentary channels of communication that existed among the parks before creation of the National Park Service in 1916.

Early park employees had two primary duties that have remained fundamental: protecting park resources and serving park visitors. Many visitors were eager to learn and asked questions, often ones lacking ready answers. Staff members responded to this lively interest as best they could. Some of them did so in part by collecting, identifying, labeling, and exhibiting pertinent specimens. The people who undertook these curatorial tasks in addition to their regular duties carried on to some extent—perhaps with little intention—the behind-the-scenes museum functions of recording and preserving park resources. It soon became apparent that the more visitors understood about these resources, the more interested they were in protecting them. This observation added momentum to museum development in the parks.

Perhaps none of those who started the first park museums had worked in museums previously. But museums were part of the intellectual climate in which they lived. During the first quarter of the twentieth century museum scientists visited most of the national parks and many of the national monuments to collect specimens and data. Park workers were influenced both by these contacts and by public interest in what museums were doing.

Park museums did not sprout up in a cultural vacuum. They were engendered by a variety of outside factors, which led to three distinct lines of progression. The first to be considered took place in natural resource parks.

Natural Parks

On September 10, 1904, Major John Bigelow, Jr., of the 9th U.S. Cavalry, acting superintendent of Yosemite National Park, issued his General Orders No. 46 establishing an arboretum in the park.¹ An arboretum is a form of museum, making this among the first museums in any national park. Setting aside between 75 and one hundred acres near the Wawona Hotel, Bigelow detailed the detachment surgeon, Lieutenant Henry F. Pipes, to lay out trails, label samples of the various species of trees and flowers with their common and scientific names, transplant to the arboretum specimens of

other interesting plants found in the park, and protect the area from misuse. He also instructed civilian rangers to collect plants from elsewhere in the park and to look after the arboretum during the winter while the troops were gone.

Pipes cleared the paths, equipped them with signposts and benches, and labeled 36 species of plants on one-inch planks painted khaki and nailed to trees or posts. Time permitted moving in only one transplant. When the arboretum elicited an inquiry from the Department of the Interior, Bigelow justified it by stating that an important purpose of the park was "to provide a great museum of nature for the public free of cost." This concept of the park itself as a museum is a significant and recurring one. He went on to express his hope that the arboretum would "some day be supplemented by a building serving the purpose of a museum and library."²

Bigelow retired from the Army at the end of the 1904 season. He commended the arboretum to his successor, Captain Harry C. Benson of the 4th Cavalry, but circumstances prevented its continued development. In 1905-06 a boundary change removed the acreage containing the arboretum from the park and California retroceded Yosemite Valley to the federal government, making it the park's centerpiece. The arboretum was almost completely forgotten. After 47 years of total neglect a park ranger retraced the overgrown paths and located eight of the original labels still in place and faintly legible.³

Museum development in Yosemite did not wait that long to resume. In 1914 the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, founded in 1908 at the University of California in Berkeley, began a study of the mammals, birds, reptiles, and amphibians of the Yosemite region. Field work for the study continued until August 1920 with one or more expeditions each year except in wartime. Museum staff spent 957 man-days collecting 2,001 pages of field notes and 4,354 specimens, preserving both in the museum as an invaluable record of park resources. Yosemite's staff not only helped with logistics but added useful observations and specimens.⁴

Joseph Grinnell, director of the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology and leader of the Yosemite study, was a museologist and teacher as well as zoologist.⁵ He and his field workers significantly increased local awareness of museum policies, practices, and opportunities. Stephen T. Mather, busy with the creation of a national park service, became so interested that he contributed personally toward the costs of field studies.⁶ Grinnell's influence fostered the creation of a museum of sorts in the park in 1915. A number of mounted birds and mammals, and apparently some pressed plants accompanied by watercolor sketches, were exhibited in the crowded headquarters building, which also contained a newly established information bureau. Because Grinnell taught that "people instinctively want to know the names of things," each specimen probably had its label.⁷

Park ranger Forest S. Townsley contributed at least some of the mounted animals. After previous service in Platt National Park, he joined the small ranger staff at Yosemite in 1913, became chief ranger in 1916, and held this position until his death in 1943. Taxidermy was his hobby. He probably taught himself with the aid of one or more of the excellent handbooks by museum taxidermists that had sold widely since the 1890s. No doubt his contacts with Grinnell and other field workers from the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology helped to intensify his interest and refine his technique.

If Townsley had a key part in starting the little museum at headquarters, he received reinforcement with the appointment of Ansel F. Hall as information ranger in 1919.⁸ Conditions then favored museum growth. The National Park Service had begun to function under a policy letter Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane sent Director Mather on May 13, 1918. "The educational, as well as the recreational, use of the national parks should be encouraged in every practicable way. . . ," it stated in part. "Museums containing specimens of wild flowers, shrubs, and trees and mounted animals, birds, and fish native to the parks, and other exhibits of this character, will be established as authorized."⁹ This basic statement also contained the germ of future accession policies limiting the scope of park museum collections.

Mather himself was seizing upon curatorial measures in his vigorous campaign to build public support for the national parks. As a feature of the Fourth National Park Conference in January 1917 he arranged for a special exhibition at the Smithsonian's National Museum. Forty-five paintings of park scenes by such artists as Bierstadt, Leigh, Moran, Rungius, and Twachtman were hung for the opening reception. Most remained on public display until after President Woodrow Wilson's second inauguration in March. During the same fiscal year Mather launched an experimental traveling exhibition intended for display in libraries. It consisted of 24 framed photographs of park scenery packed in two reusable shipping boxes. Its continuing popularity led the director to request funds to produce and circulate additional sets.¹⁰

Mather's early annual reports contained enthusiastic references to museum developments in the parks. For Yosemite he proposed to include ample museum space in the new administration building he was asking Congress to finance. His 1919 report announced establishment of a National Parks Educational Committee chaired by the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Its objectives included active promotion of the idea that the national parks are "museums of Nature in her supreme manifestations," an echo of Major Bigelow's concept. "One of the most important matters to receive earnest consideration is the early establishment of adequate museums in every one of our parks in which comprehensive exhibits of the

flora and fauna, and perhaps the minerals of the region, can be placed," Mather declared in his 1920 report.¹¹

Undergirding such internal factors favorable to park museum development was an external one. The American public was on the verge of a decade of heightened interest in natural history. The nature study movement, which had been growing since the 1890s, was approaching its harvest time. Excitement over the evolution controversy was also building toward a climax. Many of the visitors who stopped at the Yosemite information bureau in 1919 came with curiosity about the plants, animals, and geologic history of the park already aroused.¹²

Ansel Hall probably spent most of his first summer at Yosemite on duty in the information bureau. If so, he helped register 18,000 campers and answer questions from an estimated ninety percent of other park visitors. He was well placed to observe their interests and their reactions to the natural history specimens on exhibit. The next summer, the new nature guide service under Harold C. Bryant and Loye H. Miller generated more visitor questions about natural history. Enid Michael, wife of the Yosemite postmaster and an able botanist, maintained a large display of cut wild flowers at the entrance to headquarters. "So great was the interest in the flower show started last year that it was continued throughout the winter," the 1921 Park Service report stated. "Many have spent hours, notebook in hand, studying the exhibits."¹³

In 1920 Yosemite could foresee more space for its cramped museum. It would not have to wait on the long chance that Congress might appropriate the funds requested for a new headquarters building big enough to contain the exhibits. Director Mather had decided to have built at his own expense a rangers' clubhouse, which would be completed that fall. Then the bachelor rangers, presumably including Hall, could leave the old structure that served as their quarters and mess. It had been built about 1899 by Chris Jorgensen, a successful California artist, as a rustic home and studio. With moderate alteration the well-sited building could house the museum.

That September Superintendent Washington B. Lewis authorized Hall to proceed with preparations. The assignment did not include an appreciable budget, and Hall had to beg, borrow, and scrounge. The exhibit cases were of necessity homemade. He turned unneeded doors into exhibit tables and secured the donation of slabs from a lumber company operating near the park. Meanwhile he launched an aggressive acquisition program, seeking out appropriate specimens as gifts and loans. This was so successful that he could value the collection at more than \$30,000 by the time the museum opened on June 17, 1922. It occupied six rooms designated respectively for history, ethnology, geology, natural history, botany, and trees of the region. By the end of the summer it had attracted more than 33,000

visitors. "Although quarters available are wholly inadequate, the museum has developed into a very creditable one," the superintendent reported.¹⁴

What Hall knew about curatorial work in 1920 had not come from formal museum training. Grinnell and his field staff had doubtless familiarized him with their techniques and standards in the preparation and recording of scientific study specimens. The Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, however, had little interest in exhibition. Harold Bryant and others of the nature guide project also knew how to collect, prepare, and record natural history specimens, but their primary interests lay in person-to-person educational activities. The character of the museum Hall created can be judged from contemporary photographs of the exhibit rooms and published items in *Yosemite Nature Notes*, an initially mimeographed periodical the park first issued in 1922 with Hall as editor.¹⁵

These sources reveal an understandably amateurish installation. The photographs show a plethora of objects in and atop cases, on and under open tables, along shelves and window sills, and hung on the walls. The display methods appear little influenced by concern for the preservation of the specimens, their didactic use, or their aesthetic effect. The objects were set out primarily to be looked at by visitors. Labeling appears minimal,



Yosemite National Park Museum, 1922-25. One of the exhibit rooms in the former Chris Jorgensen studio.

although some explanatory panels, maps, and pictures can be seen. The six room designations imply a systematic arrangement, but the photos indicate some mingling of subject matter. Evidently some of the exhibits were more fully developed. *Nature Notes* referred to a comparative display of Indian cradle baskets and another that showed obsidian arrow points along with pictures explaining how they were made. The arrow point display related to piles of obsidian chips visitors were likely to discover in the park, a studied effort to tie museum exhibits to field features.

From *Nature Notes*, it is also clear that the museum was not static. The accessions program was in full swing and what came in usually went on display. An injured pygmy owl picked up in the park was soon a mounted specimen on view. One visitor donated a prize trout he had just caught. Another promptly gave a specimen jar in which to display it. The museum had been open less than two months before visitors were asked to bring in live field mice and gophers to feed more than three dozen snakes of twelve species. Chief Ranger Townsley had even concocted a museum joke, the tanned skin of a feral house cat dyed black, that had visitors guessing. Evidently the new museum was active and popular.

The museum's unprofessional aspects, hardly abreast of the best current practice, engendered some curatorial problems for the future. One of the first large accessions, the Mitchell collection of Indian baskets, presented a novice curator with several potentially dangerous pitfalls. The material culture of the Indians who had inhabited Yosemite constituted a legitimate secondary subject for the museum. But the baskets ranged considerably beyond the park, and the Mitchells had a case built "to exhibit the entire collection."¹⁶ If this was a condition of the gift, it set a precedent that hampered later curators in managing the Yosemite collections properly. The owners had been offered \$400 for one particularly rare basket sought by the Smithsonian Institution. This created a circumstance likely to fan the natural acquisitiveness of a curator and color his judgment. An experienced curator would have negotiated with the Mitchells for a selective and unrestricted gift of the baskets clearly pertinent to Yosemite.

The Mitchell donation initiated a flow of Indian baskets that eventually became a burden to the museum. Within a year Chris Jorgensen gave many, most of Yosemite origin, from his large collection. The following year the park accepted from a woman in Kansas more than six hundred Indian artifacts, including Iroquois, Haida, Apache, and Pomo baskets.¹⁷ In time the Yosemite Museum had many more Indian baskets than it could properly care for or use.

Ethnology was not the only secondary subject area into which the new park museum plunged. It also had a history room. A few aspects of Yosemite history, particularly those related to conservation and development of national parks, have truly national significance. But most of what

had happened in the Yosemite region since white men first penetrated the valley had little influence beyond that typical of local history anywhere. Although park visitors might find stories of Yosemite's past interesting, nostalgic, or even exciting, could they warrant the expenditure of time and money on the federal level implicit in extensive museum treatment?

Ansel Hall became fascinated with this history and began collecting its relics avidly. In the *Sierra Club Bulletin* he recounted how "a great number of mementos of the early days [had] found their way back to Yosemite, among them two old stagecoaches; a number of exceedingly interesting hotel registers; numerous souvenirs of . . . pioneers; relics of the golden days of '49; and arms and accouterments of the early days of Spanish California."¹⁸ The results not only stocked a history room when the museum opened but contributed to influential trends that affected the Yosemite museum program and museum developments in other parks for many years. Perhaps Director Mather encouraged Hall in this direction, for in 1921 Mather received very favorably a suggestion for history exhibits at Yellowstone from the popular writer Emerson Hough.¹⁹

With all the attention Hall gave to history and ethnology he did not neglect natural history. For the museum's focal point he personally constructed a large relief model of Yosemite Valley, ten feet long with a scale of nine inches to a mile. He could not have chosen any exhibit closer to the basic significance of the park—the great glacial valley and the geologic story of its formation. It took him most of two winters to build using the facilities of the University of California's Forestry Division, where he had majored. It was molded and cast in time for the museum opening. He painted in the surface details with visitors watching. After that he used the model to illustrate daily museum talks on how geologic forces had created the spectacular landscape visitors came to see.

Several factors undoubtedly influenced Hall to select this project. Superintendent Lewis, much interested in the museum, was himself a topographer with wide field experience. In 1907 the U.S. Geological Survey had published a contour map of Yosemite Valley that provided data essential to the task. Francois E. Matthes, a USGS geologist who had done the topography for the map, had been engaged since 1913 in an intensive study of the park's geologic history. He had talked to park visitors on his research in the 1919 LeConte Memorial Lectures, and his conclusions, settling a long scientific debate, would soon be in print. Topographic models were in vogue. The new museum of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences opened in October 1920 with a model of its local area as a centerpiece. Yellowstone National Park received a relief map of the park as a welcome gift in 1921.²⁰

Hall's energetic prosecution of his museum assignment led to promotion. He became Yosemite's first park naturalist on July 1, 1921. The new

title evidently did not carry with it an immediate workload of interpretation or supervision, for he soon left the park for a mountaineering expedition with his friend Francis P. Farquhar of the Sierra Club. On August 26 the two men became the first to reach the summit of the Middle Palisade in the Kings River region. Late the next day they came upon and camped with Chauncey J. Hamlin and his party, who were working their way along an unfinished portion of the John Muir Trail. The party had just built a section of the trail over Mather Pass, which they had named in honor of the director of the National Park Service.²¹ This apparently chance meeting forged one link in a chain of circumstances that set park museums on the road to professionalism, as will be recounted in the next chapter.

At the close of the 1921 season Harold Bryant of the California Fish and Game Commission, on loan to the park to conduct the nature guide project for the second summer, formally recommended that the park assume full responsibility for the nature guide service and place a permanent staff member in charge.²² He also recommended that someone be appointed to oversee similar work on a Service-wide basis. In keeping with Bryant's first suggestion, Hall provided continuity for the nature guide program leading up to the 1922 season and probably had some supervisory role that summer. His museum responsibilities must have received priority, however. The shortcomings of the old Jorgensen studio led him to begin soliciting funds for a new, fireproof structure. He persuaded Herbert Maier, a young architect trained at the University of California, to make and donate sketches to show what he had in mind. He had collected more than \$7,000 in cash and pledges for the new museum building by the summer of 1923, when he learned that he would have an opportunity to go abroad for a year. To safeguard the money he obtained approval to set up the Yosemite Museum Association, the prototype for the cooperating associations now active in many parks.²³

That August Hall was promoted again, to the new position of chief naturalist for the National Park Service. This action followed Bryant's second suggestion but did not result in a strong central supervision of naturalist work for some years. Other priorities intervened. The circumstances growing out of Chauncey Hamlin's meeting with Hall on the John Muir Trail had not yet run their course.

The final step in the beginnings of the Yosemite Museum also came in the summer of 1923. On June 10 Hall hired as a temporary assistant a biology teacher from the Reno, Nevada, High School. Ranger-naturalist Carl P. Russell quickly demonstrated his interest and aptitude in developing and managing the museum. A few months later, when Hall left for Europe, Russell obtained a leave of absence from the high school and assumed the duties of park naturalist. With Hall's promotion out of the staff, Russell succeeded to the permanent park naturalist post and to responsibility for the

museum. This marked a turning point in the history of curatorship in the Service. It formed another important link coming out of the Hamlin encounter.²⁴

The development of the Yosemite Museum up to this point exemplifies what was going on in other natural parks. Similar factors led to curatorial activity. Within the same general time frame several parks reached the information bureau-with-exhibits stage and were calling for adequate museum buildings. A few additional examples will illustrate variations within the pattern.

In Sequoia Superintendent Walter Fry had begun collecting museum specimens at least by 1917. A forest fire that August burned down his residence/headquarters near Three Rivers. The loss included "over 4000 specimens of the flora of the Sequoia and General Grant National Parks that had been collected and prepared for use in an exhibit of the flora of the parks." At the end of the 1920 season Fry's successor, John R. White, reported: "The exhibit of wild flowers maintained by Mrs. Magly, assisted by other ladies, in the entrance to the superintendent's office was much admired and was of educational value both from botanical and administrative standpoints. . . . A similar exhibit of the cones and branches of sequoias, firs, pines, and other trees, shrubs, and flowers was of equal value. These exhibits form the nucleus of the Park Museum, to be established when appropriation is available for the necessary building."²⁵

Fry, now U.S. commissioner for Sequoia, inaugurated a free nature guide service at Giant Forest under official sponsorship in 1922. That summer Ansel Hall donated a hundred Riker mounts and \$10 for the wildflower exhibit. These made "a handsome addition to the Administration Building" but threatened to outgrow the available space.²⁶ The next summer the nature guide service staged a play to raise money for the museum. Director Mather attended the performance, which cleared \$120. A Giant Forest Museum Association was organized to manage the funds. In 1924 the nature guides operated out of a little museum installed in a tent. The following year the museum was back in the administration building, which it eventually took over and occupied until 1966.

Early museum development in Yellowstone National Park differed in one respect from the previous example. The impetus came initially and persistently from outside the park staff. Milton P. Skinner was the prime instigator. While an undergraduate he spent the summer of 1898 at Old Faithful. The untrained guide hired by the hotel to explain the geysers seemed to him quite inadequate. Skinner occasionally substituted for this guide and discovered that there was no place in the park to obtain reliable information on the phenomena.

Skinner became a devoted student of Yellowstone's natural history. Returning to the park year after year, he worked as a nature guide and

lecturer for the hotels and later as a Corps of Engineers overseer on road construction projects. At some point he began active agitation "for an official government service including guiding, lecturing, information bureaus and museum."²⁷ Apparently the first hopeful reaction came about 1910. Yellowstone's acting superintendent at that time was Major Harry Benson, the same officer who had inherited Major Bigelow's arboretum and proposal for a museum at Yosemite in 1905. No direct link is documented, but Skinner learned that the park was considering the establishment of a museum at Mammoth Hot Springs and hoped to get \$10,000 for a building. He redoubled his efforts at the park and in the winter of 1913-14 took his plea to the secretary of the interior.

Skinner's lobbying in Washington failed in its immediate purpose, but two actions followed. He was asked to write the park's first circular of information for visitors. Along with the rules and regulations it contained his checklist of Yellowstone birds. And the general superintendent and landscape engineer of the national parks called in 1915 for a study of surplus buildings at Fort Yellowstone with the intention of converting a suitable one into a park museum.²⁸ The recommendation bore fruit as soon as Horace M. Albright became superintendent of the park.

Superintendent Albright, who was Director Mather's close associate and shared his interest in the incipient park museums, promptly made Skinner a park ranger with the sole duty of developing an educational service for Yellowstone visitors. Appointed in October 1919, Skinner advanced to the prototype position of park naturalist in the spring of 1920. During his brief tenure the park adapted one of the Fort Yellowstone buildings as a base for the new educational program. This fine stone structure, formerly the bachelor officers' quarters, remained the central museum for the park thereafter and in 1979 was rededicated as the Horace M. Albright Visitor Center. For the 1920 season the park naturalist operated an information bureau in a small office, probably while the newly assigned building was being made ready. In 1921 the information bureau occupied the front room of the old bachelor officers' quarters and Skinner began developing a park museum in the room behind for the 1922 season. By the time he left in September 1922, the exhibits included more than 130 geological and paleontological specimens, more than eighty botanical specimens, and a few zoological items, all labeled with exceptional care from the standpoint of visitor needs.²⁹

The homemade museum continued to grow after Skinner's resignation. In 1923 park rangers contributed three mounted mammals, someone else gave a mounted whooping crane, and additional cases were built. The next permanent park naturalist for Yellowstone, Edmund J. Sawyer, served from 1924 to 1928. Described as an artist-ornithologist, he evidently did some preparation work on the museum exhibits but concentrated his efforts

elsewhere. In 1925 Albright took the unusual step of appointing one of the park concessioners, Jack E. Haynes, as acting director of the museum. Haynes served the museum well, assuring its continued development and even constructing a working model of a geyser for the Old Faithful ranger station.³⁰ By the time his appointment ended in 1929 the team that had professionalized the museum program at Yosemite was at work in Yellowstone.

To cite a few other cases, Mount Rainier operated an information bureau in the superintendent's office at Longmire beginning in 1918 "for the purpose of informing visitors in regard to the flowers, trees, animals, and points of interest in the park." Professor J. B. Flett, the park ranger in charge, probably had at least a few natural history specimens on display. When a new administration building was complete in 1928, the old one became the park museum. This building, still containing exhibits dating from the 1920s, now constitutes a "museum of a museum." In 1918 Rocky Mountain National Park reported that a collection of plants would "be on file in the park office for reference and use by the public." Grand Canyon's superintendent stated in 1922 that collections of wildflowers and minerals from the park and photographs from other national parks were being assembled for exhibition in the information room.³¹ The natural parks had discovered by then that exhibiting specimens gave them a powerful medium for serving the educational objectives the National Park Service was beginning to formulate.

Archeological Parks

Elements of crisis and conflict underlay the beginnings of park museums at archeological sites. As archeology matured into a science during the 19th century, it opened new vistas into the past. These glimpses of prehistory aroused widespread public interest, making ancient artifacts increasingly desirable acquisitions for collectors and museums. At the same time archeologists learned from experience how much information and insight they could gain by using continually refined, painstaking techniques of excavation and artifact research. Conversely, this emphasized how much potential knowledge was destroyed when amateurs vandalized sites in search of marketable relics.

During the 1880s public interest and professional concern began to focus on the spectacular Indian ruins of the Southwest. The growing population of this region and its increasing accessibility made the sites more and more vulnerable. The activities of the Wetherill brothers in mining the Mesa Verde cliff dwellings and selling their finds (1887-91) underlined a critical situation.³²

Pressure grew to protect the prehistoric structures. In January 1889 several prominent citizens of Massachusetts including Governor Oliver Ames, John Fiske, Edward Everett Hale, William T. Harris, Mary Hemenway, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Mrs. Henry Cabot Lodge, Francis Parkman, and John Greenleaf Whittier appealed to Congress to protect the Casa Grande ruin in Arizona. It took Congress just over a month to appropriate \$200 for repair and protection of the ruin and to authorize the President to reserve from settlement and sale the land on which it was situated.³³

After Cosmos Mindeleff of the Geological Survey carried out initial repairs to Casa Grande in 1890-91, the General Land Office effected the reservation of the tract in 1892. When this action failed to provide adequate protection, the GLO appointed a resident custodian. Frank Pinkley, a 20-year-old Missourian whose uncle was U.S. land commissioner in Phoenix, entered on duty in December 1901. Until 1910, when he built an adobe house at the site, he lived in a tent. He guarded the ruin from molestation, greeted the occasional sightseeing travelers, and gave each party a conducted tour. From the start he collected and carefully saved whatever artifacts he found, but evidently he refrained from destructive pot hunting. When the GLO erected a corrugated iron roof over Casa Grande in 1903, the rooms inside the tower provided shelter for him to display these artifacts and use them in his explanations to visitors. So Casa Grande had an embryonic museum at least by 1905.³⁴

Beginning in 1906 the Interior Department funded two seasons of archeological field work at the site. By arrangement with the Smithsonian Institution, J. Walter Fewkes of the Bureau of American Ethnology spent the winters of 1906-07 and 1907-08 excavating and making minor repairs. The first season's work revealed "a ground plan of 43 rooms surrounded by a court yard wall, the whole divided into several courts and plazas . . . [where] we had before only a ground plan of five rooms with no courts, plazas, or surrounding walls" Pinkley's delight at this success was tempered when Fewkes took the recovered artifacts back to Washington for the National Museum. He advocated keeping them where they had been found as a more effective way of disseminating the knowledge gained and promoting public interest in the site. He also recommended an appropriation of about \$2,000 to build a museum at Casa Grande to house the finds of future excavations.³⁵ The Smithsonian replied by citing the law that "All collections of rocks, minerals, soils, fossils, and objects of natural history, archaeology, and ethnology made by . . . parties for the Government of the United States . . . shall be deposited in the National Museum." It did agree that a selection of Casa Grande artifacts "suitable for the instruction of visitors" might be made available if a proper place was provided.³⁶

Fewkes' second season made equally impressive discoveries. Pinkley's annual report renewed his arguments for keeping the specimens at the site and his request for funds to build a museum. "This might be done under the present law by making it a branch of the National Museum," he suggested. His single-handed attempt to change policy failed, perhaps in part because it encountered attitudes charged by the 1904-06 controversy between the Smithsonian and the supporters of the Antiquities Act of 1906.³⁷ He repeated his request for museum construction money in 1909 and 1915, each time without success.

Pinkley continued to guard and interpret Casa Grande until 1915, when he resigned to serve as an elected member of the Arizona legislature. He resumed his custodianship in April 1918, four months before Casa Grande became a national monument, at the invitation of Director Mather of the National Park Service. Almost at once he wrote Mather urging that plans be made to erect a museum building. That summer he added graphic items to the artifacts displayed in the covered ruin. Mather's interest became evident when he personally contributed \$210 to buy an appropriate collection Mrs. Pinkley had inspected in a Long Beach gift shop. Finally in 1921 the Park Service allotted Casa Grande \$1,200 for a museum and office building. After modifying the plans provided, Pinkley constructed it during 1922 using Indian labor. He described it as 50 by 22 feet with "an office, a file and storage room, a museum room, a library and map room, and a small rest room," all of adobe with cement floors. In the same breath he again recommended the return of duplicates from the Fewkes excavations, "for the increased interest they will give the visitor is beyond computation."³⁸ By 1923 the new museum was in operation and evidently occupied most of the building.

The Casa Grande museum suffered a setback in September 1925, when a cloudburst raised flood waters above the level of the cement floors. The lower layers of the adobe walls disintegrated and the building collapsed. Fortunately, the museum collection suffered little damage. A prompt release of emergency funds enabled Pinkley to rebuild the walls and roof. He had the museum operating again within four months.³⁹

The collection continued to grow. The Southwest Museum left more than half the finds from its 1927-28 Casa Grande expedition at the site. The Los Angeles County Museum also was generous with the results of its 1930-31 investigations. By 1932, when Casa Grande began to receive attention from the small central staff of Park Service museum professionals, Pinkley had already spent a quarter of a century in the active development and use of his museum. Treating it consistently as a feature of the guided tour, he had kept the exhibits in continual flux, adding or subtracting and rearranging specimens to adjust to visitors' responses. This pattern of use contrasted with what was happening in other park museums intended as

open learning situations in which visitors could move freely, stay as long as they wished, and pursue their individual interests.⁴⁰ Not surprisingly, Pinkley clung to the methods he had proven in practice and strove to keep his independence in curatorial matters. Neither is it surprising that the small, isolated staffs of the southwestern national monuments to whom "Boss" Pinkley provided superb leadership for many years reflected his attitude; nor that in some instances the defense of a position shaded into hostility or even subterfuge.

Independence in the second example of museum development in archeological parks took a somewhat different form. Mesa Verde became a source for museum specimens soon after discovery of the ruins. Artifacts gathered by local cowboys in at least eight forays between 1887 and 1892 found their way to the Colorado State Historical Society, probably to the University of Pennsylvania Museum, and elsewhere. A large collection obtained in 1891 under the direction of a young Swedish scientist, Gustaf Nordenskiöld, is still in the National Museum of Finland. An initial attempt to provide some protection involved temporary withdrawal of the land from sale, but this failed to prevent continued rifling of the ruins. Under pressure from a Colorado women's organization, Congress created Mesa Verde National Park in 1906. A series of politically appointed superintendents in the years before the National Park Service became operational also fell far short of assuring adequate protection. The last of these, Thomas Rickner, serving from December 1913 to May 1921, did oversee the establishment of a museum in the park, even if under questionable circumstances. Meanwhile a program of scientific archeology began at Mesa Verde.

When Walter Fewkes finished his work at Casa Grande in 1908, he was detailed to Mesa Verde on a similar assignment. Also on the ground was Edgar Lee Hewett, traveling fellow of the Archaeological Institute of America and recently appointed director of its new School of American Archaeology. Hewett had led a 1907 survey of the Mesa Verde ruins for the Interior Department that resulted in recommendations for their excavation and repair. He was equally familiar with Casa Grande and shared with Frank Pinkley the belief that artifacts were most useful when preserved in a museum at the site. His Mesa Verde report included this recommendation. Nevertheless, at the end of Fewkes' first season in the park the secretary of the Smithsonian requested and the secretary of the interior granted that the artifacts he recovered be "committed to the permanent custody of the United States National Museum" ⁴¹ Fewkes shipped off to Washington the 1908 finds he felt worth preserving, except for some heavy objects too expensive to transport. He continued this practice each season (except during the war years) until 1923, when the Park Service succeeded in terminating his work there. Agitation to keep these artifacts at Mesa Verde

and to provide a museum for preserving and exhibiting them persisted from sources outside and within the park.

No advocate was more tenacious than Superintendent Rickner. His son-in-law Fred Jeep, whom he employed as a park ranger, was a dedicated pot hunter.⁴² Like most pot hunters he lacked concern for the data that would make the artifacts of scientific value, but for the most part he apparently regarded his finds as park property rather than a source of personal gain. Rickner called for a museum to display Jeep's growing collection. In 1914 he complained to a Colorado congressman about the repeated delays in appropriating funds for development "until the improvement of the park has become a joke, and people here are skeptical about anything being done . . . ,"⁴³ The congressman introduced a bill in 1915 to provide for building a park headquarters and museum in Mancos, but no action resulted.

Mark Daniels, general superintendent of national parks in 1914-15, became Rickner's next target. He urged Daniels to come see a cliff dwelling—named Daniels' House in his honor—newly discovered by Jeep and asked him for a cabinet to display the artifacts Jeep was extracting from it. This effort created an echo in the department's annual report calling for a museum, "even of the smallest kind," for Mesa Verde. In September 1915 Rickner directed his appeal for a museum to Stephen Mather, then acting as assistant to the secretary of the interior for park matters. "It has been a matter of wonder to tourists, and a disappointment to them, that there was no collection for them to examine . . . ," he wrote.⁴⁴

Mather's initial response was undoubtedly disappointing but signally perceptive. He recalled a 1911 ruling that materials collected in connection with excavations and investigations in the park must go to the National Museum, but he suggested the possibility of arranging to display some duplicates. "In case it is found practicable to permit duplicate specimens to be kept in the park, I have to request to be advised as to exactly how they are to be preserved, at what place and in whose custody," he added. "Also whether it would be possible for the present park force to have the same properly marked and catalogued so that the traveling public in the reservation may know exactly what they are."⁴⁵ A year later Mather evidently distinguished between specimens recovered during official work on the ruins that had to go to the National Museum and those obtained by other means such as gift, purchase, or even Jeep's spare-time pot hunting. His 1916 report to the secretary urged construction of a museum at Mesa Verde and an active accession program to recover artifacts that had been removed from the park.⁴⁶

In September 1916 Rickner asked Robert B. Marshall, Daniels' successor as superintendent of national parks, for approval to build an exhibit case. He reinforced the request by sending along as gifts a small

ceramic vessel and a stone ax from Jeep's collection. Rickner was allowed \$22 for the needed case.⁴⁷ He installed it in the ranger station, a new log cabin located near the canyon rim where its large porch gave a fine view of Spruce Tree House. The next year an Interior Department inspector looked into the situation at Mesa Verde. "The Ranger Station . . . is used as a bedroom for Mr. and Mrs. Jeep and as a laundry for the camping company [Mrs. Jeep's concession] and on the porch, lying in the open, are a great many curios taken from the ruins," he reported.⁴⁸ Horace Albright, then assistant director of the National Park Service, visited soon afterward, and some changes followed promptly. Among them was the transformation of the ranger station into the museum Rickner had promoted so assiduously.

The park completed the conversion by the spring of 1918. One room then contained four wall cases and an aisle case displaying the prehistoric artifacts. The other room with a fireplace provided a lounge for visitors and space in which Fewkes could offer his evening lectures. This room also had an exhibit of twelve large framed photographs of Mesa Verde donated by the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad. Mather noted this accomplishment with some enthusiasm. He rated the museum "one of the most interesting features of the reservation . . . thoroughly enjoyed by the traveling public" and "only second in value of interest to the prehistoric dwellings themselves."⁴⁹

C. Frank Brockman, a student of Park Service interpretive activity, considered the establishment of this museum as "perhaps the most important single event in the early history of National Park Service interpretation."⁵⁰ Here the Service directorate observed and acknowledged the educational effectiveness of a site museum in a park and shortly obtained valuable insights into curatorial problems and standards. In fact, the Mesa Verde museum in 1918 was a not very creditable assortment of undocumented specimens gathered in defiance of archeological practice and deposited in display cases without proper order or explanation. In 1919 Fewkes and his assistant, Earl Linton, took time to work with Jeep to record as much information as he could remember about where and when he had found the artifacts. Two years later a new superintendent promised to keep after Jeep to complete the catalogue.⁵¹

The Park Service replaced Superintendent Rickner in 1921 with an exceptionally well-qualified archeologist. Jesse Nusbaum, appointed in spite of political pressure for other candidates, had worked for years with Edgar Lee Hewett in the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico. He had helped in an archeological survey at Mesa Verde as early as 1907 and had repaired Balcony House under Hewett's direction in 1910-11. He was knowledgeable, energetic, and versatile and had a wife with artistic talent. He promptly put a stop to Jeep's pot hunting and set out to make the park museum respectable. As he wrote Mather, "We want a

museum here that can stand the acid test of the scientific man . . . ,"⁵² The standards of curatorial work and exhibition he had in mind were those he was familiar with at the Museum of New Mexico, the Museum of the American Indian in New York, and the National Museum.

The park museum obviously ranked high in the new superintendent's priorities. During the winter of 1921-22 Mrs. Nusbaum with the help of a ranger "cleaned and reinstalled the museum collections according to the most modern museum methods" This was accomplished while the Nusbaums were also designing and building a residence so the superintendent could work in the park year round and were preparing a complete new scheme for the development of park facilities. At the same time they designed and constructed new furniture for the museum and the superintendent's new house. When rain within a few months of his arrival brought many flowers into bloom, he had specimens of more than a hundred species collected, identified, and prepared for display in the museum. He also laid the ground for a new fire-safe museum building.⁵³

Stella M. Leviston of San Francisco made her first visit to Mesa Verde in 1921. She enjoyed her stay and offered the park \$1,000 to pay for a suitable stone gateway at the entrance. Nusbaum persuaded her that the park needed an adequate museum building more than a gateway. She agreed, doubled the amount of her gift and, as plans matured, added at least another \$1,000 to ensure construction of the first wing. Her generosity and the superintendent's zeal attracted other donors including John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who matched her beneficence. With a "fireproof" building clearly in prospect Nusbaum included two pertinent recommendations in his annual report: that the National Museum return its Mesa Verde specimens to the park and that all archeological artifacts collected from the park in the future become park property.⁵⁴ The first unit of the new museum opened in 1925.

Under Nusbaum the museum and its collections continued to expand and the exhibits to improve, even without the return of material from the Smithsonian. He assigned and trained personnel to carry on curatorial and preparation work and to operate the museum. When he left the Park Service temporarily in 1930 to head the new Laboratory of Anthropology Rockefeller funded at Santa Fe, the Mesa Verde Museum remained in the care of a well-prepared staff. Responsibility for the museum fell particularly to Paul R. Franke, park naturalist and later assistant superintendent and superintendent. He in turn was ably assisted and followed in care of the museum by Donald C. Watson, a seasonal historian who in time headed the permanent park interpretive staff.

During the 1930s they continually developed and refined the exhibits using the skills of the regular staff, personnel of the park's Civilian Conservation Corps camp, and other emergency relief workers. They

planned and produced didactic displays using objects and graphics in keeping with the latest museum practice and made several very creditable dioramas, a complex type of exhibit that had recently become popular. Only occasionally did they request technical help from the Service's expanding central pool of museum specialists. The Mesa Verde Museum matched the best museums in other parks in the quality of its collections, exhibits, and curatorial practice. The self-sufficiency that characterized it caused minimal friction with the central museum establishment because no serious disagreement existed over professional standards or policies. Mesa Verde capped the archeological line of early museum development in the national parks.

Historical Parks

When the National Park Service came into existence in April 1917, the system of 15 national parks and 21 national monuments it administered included only four small areas set aside primarily for their significance in American history (as opposed to prehistory). These were Gran Quivira and Tumacacori, two ruined missions of the Spanish colonial frontier; El Morro, a prominent rock outcrop into which Spanish and Anglo-American travelers of earlier centuries had carved records of their passage; and Sitka, the site of a battle between Russian traders and Alaskan natives. Only three more historic sites were added before 1930: Verendrye in 1917, Scotts Bluff in 1919, and Pipe Spring in 1923. All the historical units were national monuments, for which the Service received very scanty funding. In most cases it could afford neither regular staffing nor development. Only one of the historical areas generated any sort of museum before 1930.

This solitary example was a direct offshoot of the archeological museum line. In 1919 Edgar Lee Hewett obtained a permit to excavate at Gran Quivira National Monument, and his School of American Research continued work there for a number of years. Gran Quivira became a direct responsibility of Frank Pinkley in 1924 when he was designated superintendent of the Southwestern National Monuments organization. Both Hewett and Pinkley were strong advocates of site museums as the proper repositories of archeological specimens. The beginnings of a collection were reported in 1925, and by 1929 Gran Quivira had a little museum in operation. In line with Pinkley's concept, its custodian showed and explained the unlabeled and mostly uncased objects to visitors as part of the ruins tour.⁵⁵ This modest achievement hardly foreshadowed events that began to unfold the next year.

The Park Service acquired its first responsibility for historical areas east of the Mississippi in 1930. Within three and a half years it had 22 such parks in the East. They brought a range of problems with which the Service

was ill-prepared to cope. The study and practice of historical architecture, an essential tool for the tasks ahead, lacked accepted canons. Historical archeology, which held the answer to crucial questions, scarcely existed as a discipline. The Service did not have a single historian on its staff until 1931, and hardly any historians were trained to deal with historic sites. From the museum standpoint the situation introduced three especially complicating factors: obligatory collaboration with non-governmental organizations having their own interests, objectives, and standards; the need to take over existing museums with unresolved curatorial difficulties; and development and operation of furnished historic structure museums, a fledgling medium new to Service experience. The first venture encountered memorable pitfalls.

A group of patriotic citizens formed the Wakefield National Memorial Association in 1923 for the purpose of "restoring" George Washington's birthplace and the nearby burial ground of his ancestors. The organizers aimed to complete the project in time for the bicentennial of Washington's birth in 1932. Because the government owned the plot of land where the birth house had presumably stood before it was destroyed by fire in 1779, the association obtained authority from Congress in 1926 to build, maintain, and operate a replica of the house on its original site. Fund-raising and architectural planning proceeded, but a second appeal to Congress became necessary as time and money ran out. A 1930 act granted the association \$50,000 to help finish construction and landscaping and stipulated that upon completion the property should become part of the national park system as George Washington Birthplace National Monument. The Park Service cooperated in the work until the formal transfer of administration in May 1932.⁵⁶ Then it had on its hands a kind of museum for which it had no firm policies. Furthermore, the reconstruction proved to be on the wrong site and to bear little resemblance to the birth house. The fault lay mostly in the state of the arts of historical architecture and historical archeology, but the embarrassment remained. So did the problem of honest interpretation.

The Service owned and operated the museum, but the Wakefield Association continued to exercise responsibility for the furnishings. The house had opened furnished with reproductions. Their replacement with appropriate antique examples began in earnest when Louise du Pont (Mrs. Francis B.) Crowninshield became association president in 1935. The Service was fortunate in this relationship because she proved as knowledgeable in the field of American antiques as her brother, Henry Francis du Pont of Winterthur. While she carried on the slow, costly task of choosing and purchasing items needed to furnish the house, however, the provisional nature of accessions left questions of legal ownership unresolved and postponed effective cataloging. The situation also tended to place policy

decisions regarding the care and security of the furnishings in the hands of the association.⁵⁷

In 1936 the Service began an archeological study of foundations discovered nearby in 1930 after the association had carried its construction project too far, it decided, to turn back. This investigation persuaded nearly everyone that "Building X," rather than whatever had stood on the site of the newly reconstructed building, was Washington's birth house. The excavations provided curator J. Paul Hudson with a multitude of specimens needing to be preserved, recorded, stored, and perhaps exhibited. During the year of his assignment at Wakefield he was able to install a small temporary museum in part of the reconstructed kitchen displaying artifacts from the dig. He also developed plans for more permanent exhibits but had to leave a large backlog of other curatorial work.

Barely six months after authorizing George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Congress took similar action on a much bigger Virginia project, Colonial National Monument (retitled Colonial National Historical Park in 1936). This enactment required the Service to preserve the site of the siege of Yorktown, preserve the unprotected part of the site of Jamestown, and connect both sites with Colonial Williamsburg by means of a parkway. Yorktown received priority because the sesquicentennial of the surrender was almost at hand. A commission was planning the commemoration, which would include a reenactment.

The pressing needs at Yorktown hastened the appointment of the first Park Service historians in 1931. Four men hired that year from the Civil Service register were well prepared to work with historic documents, but artifacts and the features of historic sites presented them with unfamiliar material. Verne E. Chatelain joined the small staff of the Branch of Research and Education in Washington to promote and guide historical enterprise throughout the park system. The other three—William M. Robinson, Jr., B. Floyd Flickinger, and Elbert Cox—were assigned to Colonial National Monument, where they got an immediate taste of curatorial work. For the Yorktown Sesquicentennial they had to handle an exhibition on the national parks involving specimens and models that had to be borrowed and returned.

Robinson became the park superintendent but lacked managerial aptitude and soon left. Flickinger succeeded him as superintendent and held the position through several stormy years until Elbert Cox was recalled to administer the park in 1939. Flickinger's incumbency witnessed much museum activity, in which he took a personal interest.⁵⁸ The park was assigned five Civilian Conservation Corps camps, giving it a thousand workers and about fifty technicians. The superintendent had to keep this big emergency relief staff productively busy on park development projects. In this situation he found it expedient to work often without consulting the

Washington headquarters or following established planning and review procedures. Haste and shortcuts tended to deemphasize quality considerations and fostered antagonisms that also characterized Flickinger's relations with the two principal outside organizations particularly concerned with the new park: Colonial Williamsburg and the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.

In this contentious atmosphere four noteworthy museum developments took place. The Augustine Moore House, where representatives of the British and Allied armies met to draft the surrender terms in 1781, still stood at Yorktown. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., bought the house for safekeeping until the government could acquire it for the park and had Colonial Williamsburg's architectural restorers spruce up its appearance for the sesquicentennial. Upon acquiring it the Park Service did a more thorough restoration, after which the park became responsible for furnishing it for exhibition. Although Colonial Williamsburg was immersed in its great historic furnishing project and the Moore House fell within the scope of its accumulated expertise, collaboration seems not to have occurred. The park turned instead to various patriotic organizations for help.⁵⁹ It persuaded the Daughters of the American Revolution to furnish the surrender room, the Daughters of the Cincinnati to take on the dining room, and the Children of the American Revolution to furnish the family parlor. As at Wakefield these arrangements gave the park minimal control over the selection and placement of the furnishings. The problems remained years later when authentic replication of the historic scene took precedence over aesthetics in cultural resource management policy.

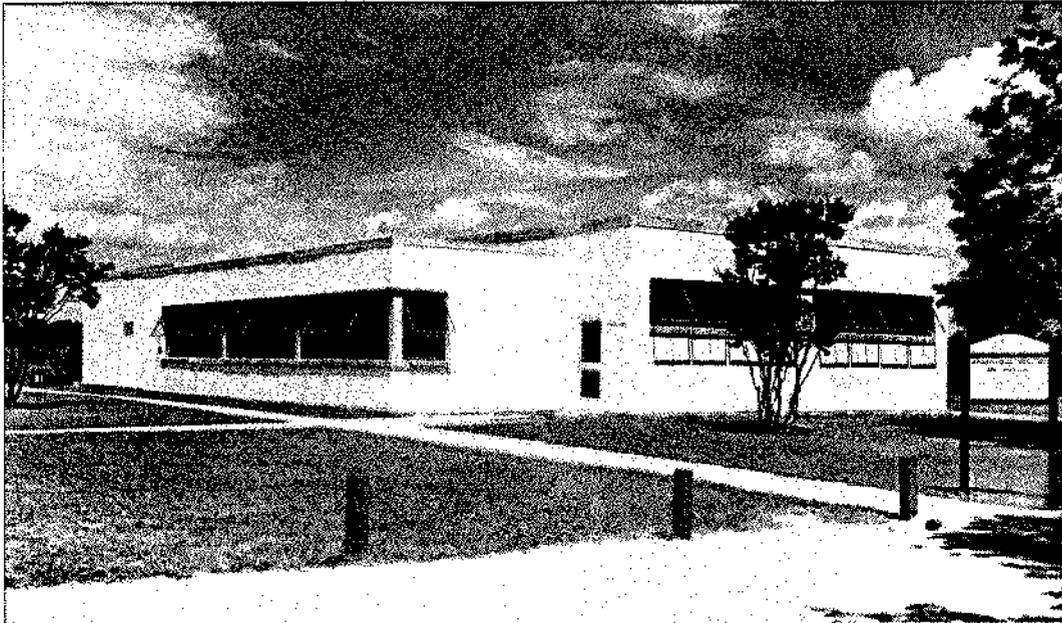
The second museum development came at the reconstructed Swan Tavern. After shifting from one building to another as architectural work in the town proceeded, the park's Yorktown exhibits finally occupied the tavern. The local staff designed and largely prepared them in deliberate independence of the growing professional resources available from the Service's central museum staff. The quality of the exhibits suffered in technical and some other respects, and the competitive rather than cooperative attitude absorbed by park staff lingered as individuals transferred to other areas. On the other hand, the Yorktown museum bore no resemblance to exhibit practices common in local historical museums. It displayed no cluttered mixture of relics but responded to newer concepts that were influencing museums throughout the park system. The Yorktown historians, trained to think of history in narrative terms, set out to use exhibits as a medium for telling visitors the story of the town and siege. They used models, maps, and other graphics to supplement specimens obtained from excavations and plenty of labels, often lengthy. As an important and innovative adjunct to the museum, park technicians converted the interior of the reconstructed Swan Tavern stable to a partial replica,

principally of the gundeck and captain's cabin of one of the British frigates that had sunk in the York River during the siege.⁶⁰ This became the setting for material salvaged from the wrecks in a cooperative undertaking with the Mariners Museum at Newport News.

More significantly innovative, the third museum development took place at Jamestown. The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities had owned the upstream end of Jamestown Island since 1893. Its area contained the known remains of the first settlement and included a small museum in the Relic House. In 1934 the Park Service acquired the rest of Jamestown Island and began to probe for further buried evidence of the 17th-century town. The park initially failed to establish a cooperative relationship, and the APVA felt threatened. Then in 1936 Frank Setzler of the Smithsonian Institution encouraged the park to hire Jean C. (Pinky) Harrington, a former architect who had recently earned a Ph.D. in archeology from the University of Chicago. He took over the Jamestown excavations and in the ensuing years contributed very largely to making historical archeology a rigorous and effective field of study. Virginia Sutton, another University of Chicago archeologist who had worked two years at Mesa Verde National Park, joined the project in 1937 (and later became Mrs. Harrington). She added a strong, knowledgeable drive to make the Jamestown program as interpretive as it was scientific. The high board fences that had surrounded the excavations came down, and the public was welcomed to observe and question.

By 1938 the park had erected a temporary but substantial building at Jamestown as an archeological laboratory and storehouse. Harrington and Sutton invited visitors into two small exhibit rooms that provided orientation to the Jamestown story and told what was going on currently in the dig. Afterward they could look through windows into storerooms filled with excavated artifacts and the laboratory where staff were cleaning and recording finds, then go out to watch the excavations in progress. The building remained in use for about 18 years as one of the Service's most effective museums.⁶¹

Meanwhile during the 1930s the excavations at Jamestown and Yorktown stimulated the fourth aspect of museum activity in the park. Curatorial research, the study of the specimens in museum collections to extract as much knowledge as possible from them, has probably received less emphasis in the Park Service than any other phase of its museum operations. Yet staff members at Colonial, most of them CCC technicians, made a strong start in this direction. Worth Bailey produced nine artifact research papers in 1936-38; his report on Jamestown pewter was among those published.⁶² Alfred F. Hopkins and Thor Borresen also prepared reports based on their research, while Harrington contributed importantly to the dating of clay tobacco pipes.



Jamestown Archeological Laboratory and Museum, Colonial National Historical Park, 1938-56. This temporary structure included two small exhibit rooms and a public walkway with view windows into laboratory and collection storage rooms.

Two more examples of museum beginnings in historical parks call for attention. Morristown National Historical Park, authorized by Congress in 1933 and the first area so designated, gave the Service another furnished historic structure museum to develop and administer. Unlike the Washington birthplace reconstruction and the Moore House at Colonial, the Ford Mansion was already venerable as a museum. The Washington Association of New Jersey, another outside organization with which the Service would have to work, had acquired the mansion in 1874 and maintained it for sixty years. The association had filled the house with a valuable collection of furnishings, military artifacts, and Washingtoniana in recognition of its role as George Washington's military headquarters during the winter encampment of the Continental Army in 1779-80. A curator, the niece of an association president, watched over the collection, which included many items outside the proper scope of the new park and a few especially treasured objects of questionable authenticity. The circumstances offered endless opportunities for conflict between the Service and the association. Instead, generally harmonious and fruitful collaboration characterized their relations. This happy state, which still persists, resulted in part from the unusual nature of the association and the caliber of its leadership, but also from the talents of the park's first superintendent, Elbert Cox.⁶³

The final example comes from the National Capital Parks. When the Service absorbed the agency administering the federal parks and reserva-

tions in the District of Columbia in 1933, it took over the Lincoln Museum. Recently moved to the Ford's Theatre building, the museum had existed since 1893 in the house across the street where Lincoln died. For most of that time Osborn H. Oldroyd, a Civil War veteran, had operated it as a private museum with himself as curator and custodian. In 1926, at the direction of Congress, a high-level commission bought the collection from Oldroyd for \$50,000. Congress acted in spite of a Smithsonian report questioning the collection's historical value, and no one inventoried it at the time of purchase. Oldroyd continually made purchases, solicited gifts, and accepted loans, but also lost items by pilfering and deterioration.⁶⁴ The Lincoln Museum forced the Service to deal with an inadequately documented collection of several thousand specimens, including many of limited value, dubious authenticity, and deteriorated condition. The status quo was entrenched in a longstanding tourist attraction. Decades would pass before the Service could take much satisfaction in the curatorial condition of the Lincoln Museum.

The cases cited suggest the pattern of early museum development in the historical parks. While the Service tried with varying success to cope with these new problems, it obtained with the Historic Sites Act of 1935 its first clear legal authority to operate museums.⁶⁵ During the same period of these historical accretions the Service was also attaining a measure of curatorial professionalism generated by events centered first at Yosemite National Park.

NOTES

1. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1904* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 397. Hereinafter cited as *Interior Annual Reports for (year)*.
2. *Interior Annual Reports for 1904*, pp. 387, 394.
3. O. L. Wallis, "Yosemite's Pioneer Arboretum," *Yosemite Nature Notes* 30, no. 9 (September 1951): 83-85.
4. Joseph Grinnell and Tracy Irwin Storer, *Animal Life in the Yosemite* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1924), pp. v-vi, 2.
5. Grinnell, *Joseph Grinnell's Philosophy of Nature: Selected Writings of a Western Naturalist* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943). See particularly "The Methods and Use of a Research Museum" (1910) and "The Museum Conscience" (1921).
6. Grinnell and Storer, *Animal Life in the Yosemite*, p. vi.
7. *Interior Annual Reports for 1915*, pp. 814-15, 853; *Joseph Grinnell's Philosophy of Nature*, p. 38.

8. Hall graduated from the University of California in 1917 with a major in forestry and a reserve commission in the Army Corps of Engineers. While waiting to be called up he got a job as park ranger in Sequoia National Park. He spent a strenuous summer building trails, patrolling, and fighting forest fires. He served in France with a forestry unit for the remainder of the war.
9. Jenks Cameron, *The National Park Service: Its History, Activities and Organization* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1922), p. 17.
10. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1917* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917), pp. 12, 14, 253-55. Hereinafter cited as *Report of the Director for (year)*.
11. *Report of the Director for 1918*, pp. 49, 73; same for 1919, pp. 30-31; same for 1920, p. 59; National Parks Educational Committee, *Proposed Statement of Objects, July 1918*, Philosophy of Interpretation 1917-47 folder, History of Interpretation 1936-50 box, NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Library.
12. Cornell University began publication of its nature study leaflets in 1896. Audubon societies formed their national association in 1901. Teacher training authorities organized the American Nature Study Society in 1908. Various museums, such as the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, had been conducting nature study activities for children and adults since the 1890s and earlier.
13. *Report of the Director for 1921*, p. 202. A photograph of the flower display accompanies C. Frank Brockman, "Park Naturalists and the Evolution of National Park Service Interpretation through World War II," *Journal of Forest History* 22, no. 1 (January 1978).
14. Hall, "The Educational Development of Yosemite National Park," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 11 (1920-23): 416; *Yosemite Nature Notes* 1, no. 1: 3; *Report of the Director for 1922*, p. 114. Later Hall valued the collection in the spring of 1922 at between \$10,000 and \$15,000 (letter to Francis P. Farquhar, Oct. 25, 1926, folder 362, box 70, Carl P. Russell Papers, Washington State University Library).
15. See photographs in *Report of the Director for 1922* and Hall, "The Educational Development of Yosemite National Park."
16. *Yosemite Nature Notes* 1 (July 10, 1922): 4.
17. *Ibid.* 3 (May 31, 1924): 3-4.
18. "The Educational Development of Yosemite National Park," p. 415.
19. "This idea appealed to me instantly, and I hope that such historical exhibits as may be appropriate to each park may be procured and installed soon. Contributions of objects for the historical collections will be solicited in regions about the parks and among their friends, and full recognition will be given to all who aid in this praiseworthy enterprise" (*Report of the Director for 1921*, pp. 36-37). Mather's final sentence foreshadowed a continuing curatorial problem.
20. *Report of the Director for 1921*, p. 16.
21. Farquhar, "First Ascent of the Middle Palisade," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 11 (1922): 264-70.

22. *Report of the Director for 1921*, p. 213.
23. Hall to Farquhar, Oct. 25, 1926.
24. Letter, Russell to C. Frank Brockman, Dec. 5, 1945, 921.2/zp-7, Yosemite National Park Research Library.
25. *Report of the Director for 1917*, p. 158; same for 1920, p. 265.
26. Superintendent's Monthly Report, September 1922, Sequoia National Park files.
27. Letter, Skinner to Carl P. Russell, Jan. 25, 1932, folder 362, box 70, Russell Papers.
28. *Interior Annual Reports for 1915*, pp. 856, 886.
29. Albright reported "47 exhibits in the igneous rock case, 43 exhibits in the geyserte case, 41 exhibits in the petrified wood case, 2 mounted animal heads, 1 mounted eagle, a case illustrating beaver work and containing 4 exhibits, a contorted tree, 2 specimens of minerals, and 80 exhibits of pressed and dried flowers" as of September 20 (*Report of the Director for 1922*, p. 108).
30. Carl P. Russell, "Scientific Investigations in Yellowstone National Park," mimeograph c. 1933, p. 8.
31. *Report of the Director for 1918*, pp. 157, 180; same for 1922, p. 148.
32. Ronald F. Lee, *The Antiquities Act of 1906* (Washington: National Park Service, 1970), p. 1; Ricardo Torres-Reyes, *Mesa Verde National Park: An Administrative History, 1906-1970* (Washington: National Park Service, 1970), pp. 5-6.
33. Lee, *Antiquities Act*, pp. 18-19; Sallie Van Valkenburgh, "The Casa Grande of Arizona as a Landmark on the Desert, a Government Reservation, and a National Monument," *The Kiva* 27, no. 3 (February 1962): 11.
34. Letter, Pinkley to Commissioner, GLO, Mar. 1, 1902, ms. addendum to Form Report, typed copy in Casa Grande file, NPS History Collection; letter, Pinkley to Ansel F. Hall, Apr. 18, 1934, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument.
35. Pinkley to Commissioner, GLO, July 23, 1907, Casa Grande Reports, Annual 1902-27, 207-01.4, Record Group 79, National Archives.
36. Letter, R. Rathbun to Secretary of the Interior, Sept. 13, 1907, *ibid.*
37. Pinkley to Commissioner, GLO, Nov. 4, 1908, *ibid.*; Lee, *Antiquities Act*, p. 61.
38. *Report of the Director for 1922*, pp. 69, 155.
39. Van Valkenburgh, "The Casa Grande of Arizona," p. 23.
40. Edward P. Alexander, *Museums in Motion* (Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, 1979), p. 165.

41. Torres-Reyes, *Mesa Verde National Park*, p. 87.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20. Rickner's nepotism also involved his daughter, who secured the concession for Spruce Tree Camp, the principal accommodation for Mesa Verde's visitors.
43. Letter, Rickner to Rep. Edward T. Taylor, Mar. 25, 1914, cited *ibid.*, p. 65.
44. *Interior Annual Reports for 1915*, p. 856; letter, Rickner to Mather, Sept. 27, 1915, cited *hi* Torres-Reyes, *Mesa Verde National Park*, p. 89.
45. Letter, Mather to Rickner, Oct. 20, 1915, cited in Torres-Reyes, *Mesa Verde National Park*, p. 90.
46. Mather, *Progress in the Development of the National Parks* (Washington: Department of the Interior, 1916), p. 27.
47. Torres-Reyes, *Mesa Verde National Park*, pp. 92-93. Later Park Service administrators occasionally took similar questionable advantage of interest-arousing specimens within their control, with less excuse after such practices were proscribed by clear standards of curatorial ethics.
48. Memorandum, John A. Hill to Horace M. Albright, September 1917, cited *ibid.*, p. 68.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94; *Report of the Director for 1919*, p. 31; same for 1920, p. 59.
50. "Park Naturalists and the Evolution of National Park Service Interpretation," p. 29.
51. Torres-Reyes, *Mesa Verde National Park*, pp. 179-80.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
53. *Report of the Director for 1922*, p. 134; same for 1921, pp. 86, 235.
54. *Report of the Director for 1922*, p. 136.
55. *Report of the Director for 1925*, p. 48; same for 1929, p. 156.
56. Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *Chapters in the History of Popes Creek Plantation* (Washington: National Park Service, 1968), pp. 139-61.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 162-63. It was observed as late as about 1960 that Mrs. Crowninshield, apparently after repeated pilfering, had directed the tableware in the reconstructed kitchen to be fastened to the table with screws and wires and relied on her chauffeur to keep the intrusion alarm system for the house in operation.
58. Flickinger, "Historical Methods Used in the Development of Colonial National Monument," paper presented before American Planning and Civic Association, Washington, D.C., Jan. 23, 1936, Colonial National Historical Park box 3, NPS History Collection.

59. Memorandum, Stanley Abbott to Regional Director, Aug. 12, 1958, Moore House folder, Colonial NHP section, Vera Craig Files, Division of Reference Services, HFC.
60. Edward M. Riley, "The History of the Development of Colonial National Historical Park," Apr. 30, 1936, typed report, box 2, Colonial NHP files, NPS History Collection.
61. Interview with Jean and Virginia Harrington by Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., May 18, 1970, transcript in NPS History Collection; Virginia H. Sutton, "Special Report on the Educational Work at Jamestown, Colonial National Historical Park," 1938, Jamestown box, Colonial NHP files, NPS History Collection.
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